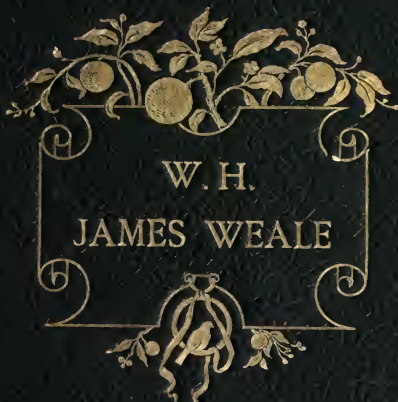



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GERARD DAVID





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1 Michael casting down Satan

15663

GERARD DAVID

PAINTER AND ILLUMINATOR

By

W. H. JAMES WEALE

Keeper of the National Art Library.



LONDON

SEELEY AND CO. LIMITED, ESSEX STREET, STRAND

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1895

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GERARD DAVID

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE AND EARLY WORKS

THE schools of painting that flourished in the Netherlands during the fifteenth century produced a great number of artists of merit,—of artists whose works, in all respects, bear comparison with those of their contemporaries of other lands and, in some, are superior to any. Our knowledge of these schools is still very incomplete, but it has been considerably increased of late, and the names of Van Eyck, Hans Memlinc, Peter Cristus, Roger Van der Weyden, and Dirk Bouts, almost unknown fifty years ago, are now, thanks to the works of Kügler, Waagen, Cavalcaselle, Conway, and others, and to the reproductions of the Arundel Society, tolerably familiar at least to that portion of the public, happily ever-increasing, who take an interest in the arts of the middle ages.

Of late years it has become the fashion to call these artists the Early Flemish painters; an unfortunate misnomer, as the title of *Netherlandish*, formerly in use, was far more correct. As a matter of fact all the great painters of the fifteenth century came from that part of the Low Countries situated on the right of the Scheldt. Many were Walloons; suffice it to mention now, Roger de la Pasture of Tournay, better known as Van der Weyden, Simon Marmion of Valenciennes, John Gossaert of Maubeuge, Joachim Patenir of Dinant, Henry Bles of Bouvignes, John Prevost of Mons, and John Bellegambe of Douay; but the greatest of all came from Brabant, Holland, Guelders, and the banks of the Maas, while Flanders, properly so called, hardly produced any artist of note.

True, many of these painters settled in Flanders, but they did not come thither to learn their art ; the records of the towns in which they took up their abode show that they were already masters, who came to practise, not to learn. Bruges and Ghent at that time offered great facilities for the sale of works of art. Not only were there rich merchants from every civilised country living in these towns, but the concourse of strangers to the great annual fairs held therein was enormous, and the sales of paintings and miniatures brought in very considerable sums. To Bruges and Ghent then, many artists were attracted; first John van Eyck, who was taken into the Duke of Burgundy's regular employ, Peter Cristus his pupil, Hans Memline, and the artist to whose life and works the present monograph is devoted. These great masters found in Bruges and Ghent assistants to grind and mix their colours, but no pupils of whom they were able to make painters—the real Fleming to this day has no eye for colour. But to return to our immediate subject ; up to the year 1861, nothing whatever was known of Gerard David. His name was not to be found in any dictionary of artists nor in any modern work on Netherlandish art. Guicciardini, in his *Description of the Low Countries* published in 1582, gives a list of the leading artists then living and of their predecessors ; amongst these he mentions :

“Simon Beninc, an excellent illuminator in vermillion, as also Gerard, known as among the best illuminators, and Lancelot, marvellous for his skill in painting fires to the life and naturally, as in his picture of the sack and burning of Troy; and these three were all natives of Bruges.”

This is the earliest mention of David that we have, and brief as the passage is, it is incorrect, for not one of these three artists was born or bred in Bruges. Simon Beninc was a native of Antwerp, and only came to settle in Bruges after he had thoroughly learnt his art, and Lancelot Blondeel was a native of Poperinghe, who settled in Bruges on his return from Italy. Vasari in his chapter on artists of the Low Countries, says : “That you may know something of the miniaturists of these countries, people say that the following were excellent artists : Marinus of Siressa, Luke Hurembout of Ghent, Simon Beninck of Bruges, and Gerard.” And the Flenish art-historian Van Mander, who had long lived at Bruges, and whose *History and Lives of Netherlandish and German*

Painters was published at Alckmaer in 1604, says, "There was formerly another Gerard, of Bruges, as to whom I have no information, save that Peter Pourbus was known to esteem him highly as an excellent artist." The last to mention him was Sanderus, who quotes Guicciardini, Vasari and Van Mander, and adds that he had a pupil whose name was Adrian Isebrant.

This is absolutely all that I have been able to find in books about Gerard David. His memory had altogether died out in Bruges. His pictures were attributed to others, notwithstanding that they have a distinctive character of their own. It was reserved to me to restore the name of this great artist to its proper place in the history of Low Country art. My first discoveries were made in 1860 and published in the Catalogue of the Museum of the Academy of Bruges in August, 1861; they have since been considerably increased, and Gerard David's name has become well known in the art world, and his works sought after so eagerly that picture-dealers have, with their usual unscrupulousness, taken to ascribing to him works of very inferior character. Not only that, but writers who ought to have known better have added to the confusion by mixing him up with other painters bearing the same Christian name. Thus Waagen in 1863 asserts his conviction that Gerard David and Gerard Horebout are one and the same person;¹ and Crowe tries to make out that Gerard, son of John David of Oudewater, must be identical with Gerard of S. John's of Harlem.²

Gerard, son of John David, was born at Oudewater, a town in the province of South Holland, early in the second half of the fifteenth century. He came to Bruges at the end of 1483, or early in 1484. On the 14th of January of that year he was admitted as master painter into the Gild of Saints Luke and Eligius, and paid the usual entrance fee of £6. At that time he was most probably a bachelor; at all events, he had no children; the register mentions this fact, because the sons of members of the Gild, born after their fathers' admission, only contributed to the gild-burse, on their inscription as masters, half the sum paid by strangers.

¹ "Je suis convaincu que ce personnage ne fait qu'un avec Gérard Horebout."—*Manuel de l'Histoire de la Peinture*, Bruxelles, 1863, tom. III., p. 308.

² *The Early Flemish Painters*, London, 1872, pp. 300, 301.



It is not known who was Gerard's master, nor where he learnt his art, but it was most probably at Harlem. Albert of Oudewater, his pupil Gerard of S. John's of Leiden, and Dirk Bouts of Harlem were all trained in that city, the painters of which, according to testimony cited by Van Mander, surpassed in landscape painting all other Netherlandish artists. At present we only know one authentic picture of Albert's, *The Raising of Lazarus* in the Berlin Museum ; this has an architectural background ; two of Gerard of S. John's, *A Pietà* and the *Burning of Saint John the Baptist's Bones* by order of Julian the Apostate, in the Vienna Gallery ; these are painted in a brownish tone, and are remarkable for the great care with which the landscape backgrounds are painted. Bouts' paintings are numerous and well known ; the colour, laid on with a full brush, is generally bright ; the landscapes are distinguished for their beauty. David's earlier pictures make it pretty clear that he must have been trained, if not by either of the two last, at least by some painter of the same school. His later pictures show that he was influenced by Hans Memlinc, who was at the height of his talent when Gerard settled in Flanders. At this time Bruges was in full prosperity, but its palmy days were coming to an end. On the 31st January, 1488, its citizens broke out in revolt against Maximilian, whose person they seized. They shut him up first in the Craenenburg on the market-place, then on the 28th of February removed him to the mansion built shortly before by John de Gros, where he remained in confinement until the 16th of May. It was in this mansion that Gerard David executed the first work of which I have found mention. To guard against Maximilian's escape strong gratings of wrought iron had been placed before the windows of this mansion. Gerard was employed to paint these in order to render them less apparent to the royal captive ; for this work he received £2 10s. Some days after Maximilian's imprisonment, the deposed burgomaster, the judge Peter Lanchals, and other members of the magistracy, accused of corruption and malversation, were put to the torture, condemned to death, and executed. Gerard was in the city, and may have witnessed some at least of the striking scenes that were then enacted. From the new magistrates elected by the three members of Flanders in the name of the King of France as suzerain of Flanders, Gerard received a commission to paint for the justice-room in

the town-hall two panels that should recall to the sitting magistrates that they must be honest and impartial. Instead, however, of painting the history of Lanchals, Gerard took for his theme an analogous subject originally recorded by Herodotus, but which he doubtless drew from the then much better known works of Valerius Maximus.

The story runs as follows :—Sisamnes, one of the royal judges of Egypt, having been bribed to give an unjust judgement, Cambyses, the king, had him strangled and flayed, and had the chair on which he had sat when pronouncing judgement covered with his skin. He then named Sisamnes' son judge in his father's place, and recommended him to remember on whose seat he was placed to administer justice.

One of the two panels represents the corruption of the judge and the judgement of Cambyses ; the other, the flaying of Sisamnes and the administration of justice by his son. Each panel measures 5 ft. 11 in. in height by 4 ft. 8 in. in breadth. In the first Cambyses, who, attended by his court, has entered the hall of justice, is ordering the unjust judge to be seized. His corruption is indicated in the background, where, at the door of his dwelling, he is receiving a bag of money from a man. Cambyses, the first finger of his right hand laid on the thumb of his left, is apparently insisting on the truth of the accusation. Other judges and persons of distinction stand around the king. The unjust judge, laid hold of by a vulgar-looking man, has a terror-stricken countenance. He wears a red, fur-lined robe over a black underdress ; in his right hand he holds his head-cover of blue cloth, which he has taken off on the entrance of the king ; his left rests on the arm of his seat. Behind him is stretched a cloth of honour, of brown bordered with black, suspended by straps to rings in the wall. To the right and left of the justice seat are two oval medallions in camaieu with allegorical subjects, remarkable as being the earliest instance of the occurrence, in Netherlandish pictures, of pagan sculpture. The one represents Abundance seated on a chair of the kind called *ἀφρος* in Greek ; behind her stands a column with a dog reposing on its summit, and an inscription, not readable, on its face ; a man, armed with a club, offers the woman an apple. I have not been able to make out the exact subject intended to be portrayed. The other medallion represents a man seated on a stone and bound to a tree with his hands tied behind him ; on his left is Venus holding a violin and

a cupid presenting her a bow. Above the cloth of honour is the date 1498, and still higher a bracket on which are seated two amorini holding two wreaths of foliage and fruit, the other ends of which are drawn to the sides by two groups of amorini seated on the capitals of two porphyry columns, from which shorter columns rise with amorini fighting on their summits. On the wall above the garlands are escutcheons with the arms of Philip the Handsome and Joan of Aragon.

The scene is represented as taking place in an open gallery or portico looking on to a square, which bears a general resemblance to the square of S. John at Bruges, but with modifications in the details.

The figures in this picture vary from 35 to 38 inches in height. Cambyes wears a robe of dark blue and gold brocade, lined with fur, and a mantle of blue velvet with ermine collar and trimmings, white hose, sandals, and a red velvet cap bordered with fur and encircled with a rich gold crown. Among the nineteen persons who form his suite is an officer with a steel helmet, a coat of mail, cuirass, and a short sleeveless mantle with a winged female figure terminating in arabesques. On the lower edge of his mantle are some letters which, however, offer no sense, and are only an imitation of the borders of the Italian reproductions of Saracenic stuffs. On the helmet are reflected the church of Saint John and other buildings. Behind this officer and on the extreme right of the foreground is a man about thirty years of age, whose head only is seen. This is the earliest portrait of the painter we have. In the immediate front is a white hound with a gilt collar, and a poodle shaved to the skin with the exception of its head and legs.

On the second panel, in the square and not far from the portico in which the previous scene was laid, is a long massive table on which Sisamnes is stretched naked, his right leg and arm being fastened by cords to the leg and cross-bar of the table. The arms are further secured by iron staples placed under the pits. Four executioners are engaged in flaying him, and the contracted features of his face show the acute pain he is suffering. One of the executioners, in a blue blouse, confined at the waist by a white scarf, and holding the knife in his mouth, is flaying the left leg of the unhappy judge. Another is bisecting lengthways the skin of his left arm, which an assistant is pulling straight by means of a cord fastened round his waist. A third, at the head of the table, is laying



The Judgement of Cambyses. Town Museum at Bruges.

open the breast, while the fourth is busy over the right arm. The king, sceptre in hand, surrounded by his court, looks on at the execution of his sentence. One of the ten noblemen who compose his suite has a goshawk seated on his wrist. On the right of the immediate foreground is a poodle scratching its ear. Under the table lie the judge's clothes. On the left background in the portico is seen the son of Sisamnes seated in the place of justice with his father's skin behind him, in lieu of a cloth of honour; around him are ten persons, one of whom is putting his hand into his purse as if about to offer its contents to the judge, who appears to refuse it. Above the building are two escutcheons bearing the arms of the counts of Flanders and of the town of Bruges. On the right at the window of a neighbouring house is a woman looking down at the scene being enacted in the place below. Beyond a wall in the background is seen a park with trees in the shade of which reposes a stag. The principal figures are 37 inches high; those in the background 12 inches.

These two panels are vigorously painted in a brownish tone with wonderful finish. They are well composed, though the foreground of the first picture is a little overcharged. The backgrounds are excellent, and the form and foliage of the trees in the park faithfully rendered. The figures are well drawn, most of the heads having a great deal of character and the hands being admirably modelled.

The flaying of a man is doubtless by no means a pleasant thing to look at, but it was not the painter who chose the subject. If however we consider the end which the magistrates aimed at in having these pictures painted, and the place in which they were to be hung, we cannot hesitate in saying that Gerard executed perfectly the commission entrusted to him. For the two pictures he received £14 10s.; £4 in 1488, £2 in 1490, and then after arbitration in 1498, £8 10s., making in all £14 10s. The frames cost 9s., and when the pictures were hung 3s. 4d. was given to Gerard's assistants and workmen. These pictures used to be attributed to Antony Claeissens and the date on the first of them read 1598; by others they have been assigned to Bartholomew of Milan, to John Gossaert of Maubeuge, and to Gerard Horebout of Ghent.¹

¹ These two pictures were taken to Paris by the French in 1794, brought back to Bruges in 1815, and placed in the Town Museum. Copies of both, originally in the Town house at Nieuport, were in the Bernal collection; a later copy, with variations, of the *Flaying of Sisamnes* is still preserved in the Law Courts at Bruges.

In a short time Gerard rose to honours in his craft ; he was a member of its council in 1488, again in 1495-96 and 1498-99. In the year 1496 or shortly after, he married Cornelia, daughter of James Cnoop the younger by his first wife Katherine. This James Cnoop was a goldsmith and a native of Middleburg in Zeeland, who had settled at Bruges, and was at that time dean of his craft. I shall have occasion to speak of Cornelia later on. In 1501-2 Gerard held the honourable position of dean of his craft.

David appears to have been a pious and charitable man. In 1508 he became a member of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree in the church of the Grey Friars. In 1509 he painted gratuitously the altar-piece now at Rouen for the Carmelite nuns of Sion at Bruges, and later on when these nuns were in need, he generously lent them £10 free of interest on condition that they should return it when requested to do so ; this they did on 7th June 1523 when Gerard was dangerously ill. He died on the 13th of August following, and was buried in the church of Our Lady beneath the tower ; his tombstone, which bore his arms and those of his wife, disappeared when the church was repaved in the early part of the present century. His only child, Barbara, was already married when he died. His widow married again in 1529 and left Bruges.

CHAPTER II

GERARD DAVID'S OTHER PAINTINGS

ABOUT 1501, or perhaps a little earlier, Gerard was employed to paint a picture for the altar of Saint Katherine in the chapel of S. Anthony in the collegiate church of S. Donatian at Bruges. His patron on this occasion was one of the canons, Richard de Visch van der Capelle, who had held the office of cantor since 1463, and was highly esteemed for his knowledge of canon law. He belonged to a distinguished Flemish family, which seems to have had considerable art taste, and several of whose members were buried in this chapel, where he himself was laid to rest in 1511.

The scene of the picture is laid in a garden, on the terrace of which the Madonna is seated on a metal faldstool covered with scarlet drapery. Behind her, and between two columns of reddish marble, hangs a cloth of honour of gold and dark blue brocade. She is attired in a plain dark greenish-blue dress, gathered at the neck and lined at the wrists with grey fur, and an ample blue mantle bordered with light gold embroidery. A double band of pearls confines her long wavy hair, which falls in masses over her shoulders, while above her head is suspended a rich jewel set with precious stones and pearls. With interlaced hands she supports the Infant Christ, who, enveloped from the waist downwards in fine cambric drapery, is seated on her right knee. His left hand clasps a coral rosary which is hanging from his right shoulder, and he turns, with right arm outstretched, to give the mystic ring to S. Katherine, who leans forward on bended knee to receive it. She is splendidly attired in a dress of crimson and gold brocade, lined with ermine, and wears a richly jewelled crown. On the ground, at her left, are the instruments of her martyrdom—the broken wheel of torture with a sword passed through it. On her

right, in the foreground, kneels her votary, Richard de Visch van der Capelle, in furred cassock and full-sleeved lawn surplice, with an almuce over his left arm. On the pavement in front of him lies his cantor's staff, a fourteenth-century *tau* of silver gilt surmounted by a group representing the Most Holy Trinity adored by a monk and a cardinal, given to the church by Canon Nicholas de Bouchoute in 1337.¹ Beside the staff are a Breviary with gold clasps and a blue velvet cover and a black cap, while in the immediate foreground reposes a greyhound with a collar composed of bells and an enamelled escutcheon bearing the canon's arms : *argent*, semée of crosses treflées, at the feet fitched, two barbel haurient addorsed, all *sable*, De Visch ; in chief an inescutcheon *or*, charged with a chevron *gules*, Van Axele. To the left of the Madonna are seated S. Barbara and S. Mary Magdalene. The dress of the former, of brown and gold brocade with a gold floral pattern, is cut square showing an underbodice of cloth of gold embroidered with two peacocks pecking at ornamental foliage issuing from a Renaissance vase ; the sleeves are large and of shot lilac and blue material. She wears a crimson cap and an enamelled and jewelled crown bearing her emblematic tower in front, and is meditating on the contents of a book in a green cover which she holds in both hands. S. Mary Magdalene is clothed in a gold embroidered habit shirt, a plum-coloured bodice, and a green dress with a crimson girdle ; over these she wears a mantle of brown silk shot with a plum tinge. She has a blue velvet hair-band on which is embroidered in gold MARIA MAGDALE, and a gauze veil, and holds her attribute, the vase of precious ointment, on her lap.

Between the columns and throne are an iris, a tiger lily, and two white lilies in flower ; beyond is a garden of roses separated by a barrier and pathway from a vineyard enclosed by a brick wall. On the right an angel is gathering a bunch of grapes, while from the pathway, a little to the left of the centre, S. Anthony contemplates the scene ; in his right hand he holds a staff and bell, and his left rests on the barrier. Beyond the wall to the right are some pretty bits of domestic architecture, which, though not exactly like any buildings now remaining, remind one immediately of Bruges. On the left are a palace and an unfinished

¹ See, for a detailed description of this staff, *Le Beffroi*, tom. i, p. 337. Bruges, 1863.



The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine

octagonal tower, bearing reference to the legend of S. Barbara. A squirrel eating a nut on the transom of one of the windows of the house on the right, a stork on the chimney top, and a bullfinch on the garden wall on the left enliven the scene and are painted with great skill.

This altar-piece, executed between 1500 and 1511, is in every way a remarkable picture, although unfortunately it has suffered a good deal from restoration. The hands of the Madonna, the right shoulder of the Child, the forehead and hand of S. Mary Magdalene and portions of the background have all been retouched. The canon's intelligent head is admirably modelled and painted, and the figure of S. Katherine executed with rare perfection. The jewellery, stuffs and draperies are rendered with David's usual skill, while the background, with its rich vegetation, vigorously coloured trees, and picturesque buildings is hardly surpassed by that of any of his other pictures.

This picture is now in the National Gallery (Oak; H. 41 in. B. 56 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), having been bequeathed to the nation by the late Mrs. Lyne Stephens. It was previously at Paris, in the De Beurnonville collection, at the dispersal of which in 1881 it fetched 54,100 francs. M. de Beurnonville had purchased it at the sale of the collection of M. Edward O' in the catalogue of which it is described as having been painted by Hugo van der Goes for the chapel of the Marchese Giustiniani.

In 1501, a colleague of Richard van der Capelle and one of the executors of his will, Canon Bernardin Salviati, son of a rich Florentine merchant and of Christina van Rossem of Lebbeke, near Termonde, who was also a notary and secretary of the chapter of S. Donatian, having obtained leave to restore and embellish the altar of SS. John Baptist and Mary Magdalene, commissioned Gerard David to paint the shutters of the reredos. These shutters, together with those of several other altar reredoses in the nave of the church, were, at the request of the sacristan, who complained that they were always breaking the wax candles, sold in a lot by order of the chapter in 1787 for an insignificant sum of money. I have been unable to trace what became of the others, but this one was, as we learn from the letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, bought in 1792 by Mr. Thomas Barrett, of Lee Priory, Kent, and it figures in the catalogue of that collection as "a group of Saints by John Gossaert of Maubeuge." At the sale of the Lee Priory

collection in May, 1859, it was knocked down to the late Mr. William Benoni White for 525 guineas. Sir J. C. Robinson, to whose intelligence and zeal we are indebted for almost all that is good in the way of mediæval art in the South Kensington Museum, drew my attention to the picture, which I at once recognised as being the right hand shutter of the reredos of Salviati's chantry altar. I tried hard, but in vain, to persuade the late Sir Charles Eastlake to purchase it for the National Gallery, but Mr. White would not part with it for less than £1000. Oddly enough the latter, who bore the character of being a most penurious and miserly man, by his last will and testament proved a generous benefactor to the nation, and left this panel in July 1878 to the National Gallery.¹

The canon is represented kneeling in the immediate foreground, his head turned towards the left; his brown hair is just commencing to turn grey. Over a black cassock edged with brown fur, he wears a plaited lawn surplice with a band of black embroidery at the upper end of the sleeves; an almuce of grey squirrel's fur is thrown over his left arm. He is accompanied by three saints. On the left, a little in advance of the canon, and bending towards him, is S. Donatian, patron of the church, in full pontifical vestments: red cassock, alb and amice with apparels of black and gold brocade, dalmatic and cope of the same brocade lined with blue; the dalmatic, rounded at the lower part, is edged with gold fringe; the orfrees of the cope are embroidered with branches of foliage and with roses composed of pearls, rubies and sapphires. The circular morse of the cope is adorned with a statuette of the Madonna, accompanied by two angels playing on musical instruments, the whole under a canopy of tabernacle work. A mitre of cloth of gold sprinkled with pearls and precious stones, and a pair of rose-coloured gloves complete his costume. He has three rings, one set with a ruby, another with a sapphire; the third, a plain gold ring, he wears on the fourth finger of the right hand, in which he holds with its red-embroidered white veil an archiepiscopal cross, of silver parcel-gilt and enamelled, supported by a staff adorned at its head with statuettes of the Madonna and Saints in canopied niches. In the saint's left hand Gerard has placed the emblem by which he is distinguished: a wheel set

¹ Oak; H. 40½ in.; B. 36¾ in.



St. Vincent and his Patron Saints

round with five lighted tapers. Immediately behind the canon is his own personal patron, S. Bernardin of Siena, in the old grey habit of the Friars Minor, extending his right hand as a token of protection over the canon, and supporting with his left against his breast a book bound in red, with gilt corners and clasps and a central medallion bearing the most Holy Name of Jesus on a ground of blue enamel.

On the right, in the rear of the canon but slightly nearer the front of the picture, stands S. Martin vested in a blue cassock, an alb with red apparels, and a splendid cope of crimson velvet with broad orfreys embroidered with figures of SS. Donatian, Bernardin, Martin, John Baptist, and Mary Magdalene, doubtless the chantry priest's best cope. The morse, eight-lobed, has in its centre a figure of S. Martin cutting his mantle in two, beneath a canopy surrounded by a hollow adorned with pearls and escucheons. The hood of the cope, on which is embroidered the Adoration of the Magi, is interesting from an archaeological point of view on account of its having a *spilla* of silver gilt, an ornament of which I know no existing example, and which is rarely met with in pictures, though often mentioned in inventories of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The saint wears a violet skull-cap, a red mitre with delicate sprays of gold and rich borders and cresting with stones and pearls; white gloves with two rings, the one on the second, the other on the third finger of his right hand, complete his costume. In his left hand he holds a crozier adorned with blue enamel, the knop formed by eight canopied niches with statuettes of Saints; an angel standing on a short column supports the crook in which is a seated figure of Our Lady with the Infant Jesus who is stretching out His hand to receive a lily from an angel kneeling before Him. The saint's right hand is raised in the act of blessing. A little behind S. Martin, on the road issuing from the wood, is a lame beggar leaning on a staff and hobbling towards the saint with his left hand extended for an alms. This man, in a blue-grey tunic and two odd boots, has a bowl stuck in his girdle, and a wallet suspended from his right shoulder by a strap fastened across his breast. The landscape, in the rocky foreground of which these figures are placed, is painted in a brownish tone; in the immediate background is a forest of large trees, and on the left in the mid-distance, a castle with mountains beyond.

This picture, with the exception of some slight retouches in the faces of S. Donatian and S. Bernardin, is in a nearly perfect state of preservation. The heads are fine and full of character; that of the donor is really admirable both as regards modelling and colour, and is almost on a par with Memlinc's finest portraits. The jewellery and vestments are capitally rendered, the crimson velvet cope being in its way a masterpiece. The beggar is also an excellent study from nature painted from the same model as the S. Anthony in the De Visch altarpiece. The trees are highly and vigorously coloured, and the subdued light beneath their thick foliage admirably rendered.

Among the persons named in the accounts of the treasurers of the city of Bruges for the year 1498 as having been charged with the valuation of the *Judgement of Cambyzes* and the *Execution of Sisamnes* were James Spronc, a decorative painter, Jodoc de Smet, a painter, John de Corte, and John des Trompes, at that time bailey of Ostend, treasurer of Bruges and a citizen of note. The last mentioned was probably struck with the talents displayed by Gerard and commissioned him to paint the triptych known as *The Baptism of Christ*, that being the subject represented in the principal or central panel. In the foreground our Lord is seen girt with a loin-cloth, standing in the Jordan, the water of which comes up to His knees. His hands are joined in prayer and His face wears an expression of deep recollection. The Baptist kneeling on the bank to the left is pouring water out of the hollow of his hand on the Saviour's head. He wears a tunic of camel's skin confined at the waist by a scarf and over it a red mantle. To the right kneels an angel in a cope of gold brocade edged with a red fringe, and having an embroidered hood bordered with pearls and precious stones, holding our Lord's robe on his arms. The Holy Spirit coming down as a dove from heaven in a glory of gold rays hovers above Christ's head, whilst high up in the sky is seen the Eternal Father, surrounded by wingless angels, blessing His Son.

On the right shutter, on the grassy ground, kneels John des Trompes, in a fur-lined robe, with his son Philip at his side; his patron, S. John the Evangelist, stands behind him in a grey robe and white mantle thrown over the left shoulder, holding a chalice-shaped cup in his left hand, and extending his right towards his client.



The Baptism of Christ. Museum of the Académie, Bruges.



On the left shutter the donor's first wife, Elisabeth von der Meersch, is seen kneeling with her four daughters Hedwigis, Anne, Joan, and Agnes, protected by S. Elisabeth of Hungary. She wears a dress of black cloth cut square at the neck, an underdress of black velvet, and a kerchief of fine linen; at her girdle hangs a chaplet of gold and silver filigree beads, with a reliquary-cross adorned with pearls. The saint is attired in a blue dress lined with grey fur, and confined at the waist by a red band; the dress, open in front, shows an under-bodice of black velvet. Over these she wears a brown mantle; with both hands she supports a book on which are two crowns, a third is placed on her white head-kerchief; these symbolising her sanctity as virgin, wife, and widow.

The scene of this picture is laid in a splendid and highly-tinted mountainous and rocky landscape, which is here a more important feature than in any earlier representation of the subject. In the mid-distance, on the right, is seen the Precursor, seated on a moss-grown rock, preaching to a group of twenty-five persons; two others are drawing near to listen. On the left, in the shade beneath the trees, S. John is pointing out the Messiah to three of his disciples, one of whom is leaving to follow Him. In the background are rocks and a city, above and beyond which rises a mountain crowned by a large castle. Nothing can well be finer than this portion of the picture; the trees, vigorously painted and finished with wonderful minuteness, have evidently been studied individually from nature, as though of many different kinds they each and all preserve the character of their respective foliage and form. Between their trunks we get glimpses of really distant landscape. The herbage, lilies, mallows, violets, and other flowers in the immediate front have never been more admirably reproduced by the art of the painter. The wavelets of the water agitated by the wind in the broader part of the river, and, in the less exposed inlet, the concentric circles around the Saviour's legs expanding and intersecting each other until they break against the rocky banks are another instance of careful observation. The transparency of the water, the reflections of surrounding objects and the shadows on its surface are faithfully rendered. The bedding of the rocks, too, is imitated with perfect truth. The colouring of all this portion is so remarkably bright and lovely that the faults of the composition are not at first noticed. The principal group not only surcharges the foreground but is

somewhat inharmonious in colour, this, however, being doubtless due to overcleaning—the picture was in 1579 daubed with black distemper on which were painted the Ten Commandments, and thus escaped being destroyed or stolen by the Calvinist iconoclasts. The figures in the middle distance, if examined separately, are short, stout, and wanting in elegance, though making up picturesque and very natural groups. The portraits of the donors and their patron saints, relieved by the sombre lines of the forest background, are admirably painted; the heads of the angel, of the lady, and of the little boy are perfect miniatures; the hands are skilfully drawn and modelled.

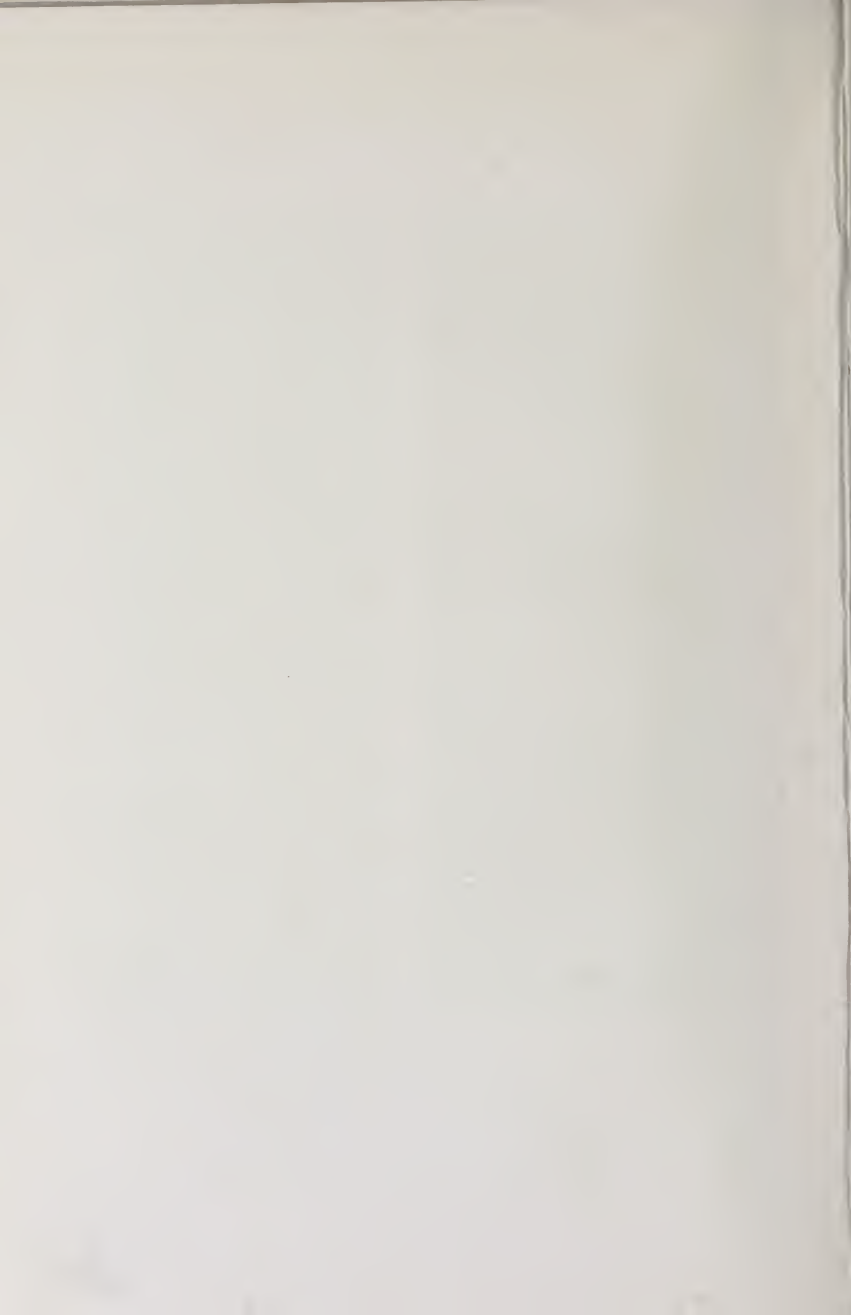
John des Trompes' first wife died on the 11th of March, 1502. I have not been able to ascertain when he married his second, Mary Magdalene Cordier, who died in July, 1509, after having had three children: Isabella, John, and Anne. During her lifetime, probably in 1507, or early in 1508, David painted the exterior of the shutters of this triptych. On the right is seen the Virgin Mother seated in an open gallery or portico under a circular canopy suspended from the vaulting, and furnished with green curtains. She wears a plain red dress and mantle; her dress loose and flowing, without any cincture, is lined with grey fur, and cut open at the neck, so as to show a little linen which serves to relieve the flesh tones. Her hair, falling in long wavy masses over her shoulders, is kept in its place by a black velvet riband, adorned with pearls and a jewel. She supports the Infant Jesus, clothed in a long-sleeved white tunic, and seated on her knees, and holds His right arm to keep Him from falling as He bends forward holding a bunch of grapes towards Mary Magdalene Cordier, who, protected by her patron saint, kneels before Him with her daughter Isabella. The lady wears a black velvet vest and a long, full-sleeved brown dress, lined with fur. From her cincture, formed by a white sash, hangs a chaplet of silver and gold filigree beads with an oval medal of the Immaculate Virgin. She has a kerchief of white lawn. The little girl, in black vest and grey fur-lined dress, confined at the waist by a long brown-pink scarf with a knotted fringe, has a white linen cap and a kerchief of velvet, embroidered with gold. S. Mary Magdalene holds her pot of ointment, and is attired in a violet dress lined with green, with a scarf round the waist. Her chest is covered by fine-plaited cambric, bordered with gold embroidery.



*Exterior of the Shutters of the Picture of "The Baptism of Christ."
The Virgin and Infant Saviour
holding a bunch of grapes.*



*Mary Magdalene Cordier with her
daughter and patron Saint.*



A head-band of black velvet, adorned with pearls and a large gold-mounted ruby, and a turban of fine white linen complete her costume. These figures are in a gallery or portico with large open arches, through which is seen the courtyard of a mansion adorned with columns and surrounded by lofty gables.

This triptych was given in 1520 by the heirs of John des Trompes and his two first wives to the confraternity of lawyers, and was placed over the altar of their chapel of S. Laurence in the lower church of S. Basil. As I have already mentioned, it escaped the notice of the Calvinists in 1579, but was carried off by the French in 1794; brought back from Paris in 1815, it was placed in the Museum of the Academy, where it is still preserved.¹

The next picture in order of date, and in my opinion David's masterpiece, was presented by him in 1509 to the convent of the Carmelite nuns of Sion at Bruges, and adorned the high altar of their church until their convent was suppressed by the Emperor Joseph in 1783.² At the sale of conventual property at Brussels in July, 1785, it was purchased by a well-known picture dealer named Berthels for fifty-one florins, and by him sold to a Mr. Miliotti, whose property was confiscated by the French Republic. Later on the French Government gave it to the museum of Rouen, of which it is still one of the chief treasures.³ In the arrangement of this altar-piece David followed that of a picture painted for the Gild of the *Drie Sanctinnen*, SS. Mary Magdalene, Katherine and Barbara, by an unknown artist in 1489, now in the museum at Brussels.⁴

In the centre of David's picture is the Madonna, seated on a metal fald-stool covered with red drapery, which falls to the ground and is stretched out beneath her feet. Her full flowing dress, unconfined by a

¹ Oak; H. 51 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; B. centre, 39 in.; shutters, 17 in. The documents relating to this picture are printed in *Le Beffroi*, tom. 1, pp. 257-287, and II, pp. 294-297. Bruges, 1863-65.

² The convent escaped being pillaged by the iconoclasts in 1579 owing to the intervention of the brother of one of the nuns, the Calvinist James de Chantraines, friend and host of their leader, the infamous Colonel Henry Balfour.

³ Oak; H. 47 in.; B. 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

⁴ Oak; H. 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; B. 67 in. For a full description of this picture see *The Ecclesiologist*, p. 30. London, 1888. The figure of S. Mary Magdalene is, with the exception of the arms, exactly the same as in the *Entombment*, ascribed to Roger van der Weyden, in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

girdle, is of dark blue cloth lined with grey fur and cut low at the neck to show an under-bodice of white linen; she also wears a dark blue mantle and a crown richly ornamented with pearls, rubies, and sapphires. Her eyes are looking down, and her long fairish wavy hair falls over her shoulders. With her right hand she supports the Infant Child, who, clothed in a long-sleeved white tunic opening in front, is seated on her knees and holds with both hands a bunch of grapes, the symbol of the Eucharist, which the Madonna presents to Him.

On each side of the Virgin's throne stands a lovely angel with outspread wings, clothed in a white alb; one is playing a mandoline, the other a viola. In the background, between the Virgin and the angel on the right, is S. Fausta, holding a little saw and wearing a dark green head-covering; in a similar position on the left, S. Apollonia in a dark green dress with grey-violet bodice, carrying a pair of pincers in her right hand.

In the right foreground are seated four saints; one next to the angel with the mandoline has no emblem; she wears a red dress bordered with black, and a dark violet headdress, the lining of which is blue; a light white veil falls without folds to her eyebrows. In front of her is S. Agnes, clothed in a green robe bordered with fur and cut square at the neck, showing a dark underdress and a plaited white garment; her violet headdress is bordered with goffered gold passementerie. Her emblematic lamb lies at her feet, and she turns with an interrogative air to S. Katherine, seated on her right with a book in her hands. The latter is superbly clothed in a dress of crimson and gold brocade, lined and bordered with ermine, with sleeves of olive green velvet slashed to show puffs of white linen. Around her neck is a gold chain with a jewel composed of sapphires, rubies and pearls, and on her head an emblematic crown of golden wheels surrounded by pearls and separated from each other by precious stones. A little behind S. Katherine, and at the extreme right of the panel, is S. Dorothea, holding a small basket full of red roses, which she contemplates with an expression of charming modesty. She wears a rather bright blue dress and a brownish black under-robe. Her hair is confined by a band composed of three rows of pearls. Behind her, in the background, the painter has introduced his own portrait. His brown tunic is open and allows his plaited shirt to be



Altarpiece for the Gild of the Drie Sanctinnen, by an unknown artist. Brussels Museum.

seen; a lock of light brown hair falls over his forehead down to his eyebrows. He appears here to be about forty-five years old, and has a more refined air than in the drawing preserved in the library at Arras¹; his complexion is sallow and his eyes are dark grey, nearly brown.

The left side of the picture is similarly occupied by four saints. Nearest to the Madonna is S. Godeleva, reading attentively and wearing an orange-red dress, having its sleeves lined with black velvet; a long scarf round her neck and a golden circlet on her head, set with three blackish stones and adorned with pearls hanging like drops of water, are symbolical of the manner of her martyrdom. Beside her is seated S. Barbara turning over the leaves of a richly illuminated Book of Hours. She is clothed in a green velvet dress cut square at the neck, showing a little linen and a brownish black underdress. The sleeves, made of gold damask, different to that which is used to border the dress, are short, but beneath them are long full sleeves of a shot pale blue and pale rose material. A square jewel composed of gold ornaments, five pearls, and a ruby, is attached to a black cord round her neck. A golden girdle and a crown, adorned in front with her emblematic tower in gold and pearls, complete her attire.

In the background, between S. Godeleva and S. Barbara, is S. Cecilia with her organ at her side. She wears a dark violet dress and a black underdress; her headgear, of the same colour as her dress, is embroidered with gold. The extreme left is occupied by S. Lucy, holding two sparkling eyes in her hand. She wears a dress of brocade of two shades of crimson open at the neck, showing a chemisette of fine cambric. The full flowing sleeves are lined with green, and a broad green sash is knotted round her waist. Her headdress, of deep violet velvet lined with blue, is bordered with gold fringe. To the left of S. Lucy in the background Cornelia Cnoop, the painter's wife, stands with her hands joined in prayer. She wears a brownish black dress bordered with narrow white fur and a large white coif, which falls on each side of her face and over the back of her head. Her eyes are brown.

The background of the picture is of a deep green nearly black. The locality of the scene is only indicated by a pavement of white, yellow and pale blue stones. The heads of the figures are very nearly a quarter life-

¹ Reproduced in *Le Beffroi*, tom. 1, p. 223.

size; the flesh tints are as a rule white, the expressions sweet and melancholy. The angels may be cited as amongst the most charming figures realised by the early Netherlandish school, and the details are without exception admirably finished.

The altar of Our Lady in the collegiate chapel of Grancey le Château (Côte d'Or) was formerly adorned with a triptych by Gerard David, now in the possession of Mme. de Denterghem of Astene (E. Flanders).¹ The interior of the three panels is occupied by a representation of the Assumption. In the centre is the open tomb in which the body of the Blessed Virgin has been deposited. At the head of the tomb on the right S. Peter, his right hand raised in the act of blessing, is reading a prayer from a manuscript volume which S. John supports against his right shoulder with one hand, while he stretches out the other to grasp the holy water sprinkler handed to him by a third apostle standing near the foot of the tomb; a fourth, kneeling in front of S. John, supports a metal vat. S. Peter, here represented as an aged man with white hair, is clothed in white; S. John, in greenish blue, is a portrait of the artist, just a little older than in the picture at Rouen; the apostle, who is handing him the sprinkler, has a scarlet tunic and a green mantle; the one holding the vat a dark green tunic, a claret-coloured mantle thrown over his left shoulder, and a scarlet cap. A fifth with long brown hair and beard, kneeling in the foreground to the left, with the fingers of his right hand between the leaves of a half-closed book is clad in a greenish blue tunic. On the right shutter are three more; one kneels in the foreground enveloped in a green mantle thrown over his head; another, in scarlet tunic and mantle, is blowing the coals in a silver thurible, the foot of which he holds with his right hand, whilst he raises the cover and chains with his left; the third, in dark blue holds an open incense-boat and spoon. On the left shutter are the other four apostles; one, in a purplish tunic with a green mantle thrown over his left shoulder, carries an open book in which he is reading with the help of eyeglasses held in his right hand; two others are praying, the one in a grey mantle, with his hands extended; the other, in a green tunic with a blue mantle which has fallen from his shoulders, has his hands joined; the fourth, in green with a claret-coloured mantle stands

¹ Oak; H. 45 in.; B. centre, 34 in.; shutters, 14½ in.



The Madonna and Virgin Saints

with interlaced hands at the foot of a tree on the extreme left. One half of the apostles are absorbed in the respective parts of the funeral service they are engaged in; the other six are gazing upwards at an opening in the clouds which occupies the entire half of the central panel, where in golden light the Virgin Mary, surrounded by seven most graceful angels all in greenish blue girded albs, is soaring upwards through the court of heaven to receive the crown which the Eternal Father and her Divine Son are waiting to bestow on her, while a countless number of angels are singing and playing on an immense variety of musical instruments.

The background is occupied by a remarkably fine landscape; in the centre is a river opening out wider in the distance, on which are a number of ships and boats; an island, in the half distance, covered with buildings is connected by a bridge with a town on the bank, with hills, rocks, and trees which extend across the left shutter. On the extreme right is a castle-crowned rock with a winding road down which is advancing the funeral procession, headed by S. John; two men who have attempted to profane the bier are falling back over the precipice, their withered hands remaining attached to the pall; other figures further down are looking on. In the immediate front are flowers and herbage and a butterfly.

On the exterior of the shutters are figured S. Andrew and S. Katherine in the foreground of a mountainous landscape, diversified with numerous buildings, a palace with towers, a wood, and cottages. S. Andrew, a middle-aged man with dark brown hair and beard, clad in a purplish brown tunic and crimson mantle fastened over the right shoulder, holds a closed book in his right hand, and with his left supports a saltire cross. S. Katherine stands facing him, her right hand resting on the handle of a sword, whilst she reads a book supported by her left; at her feet lies a broken wheel of torture. She wears a tight fitting dress of crimson velvet cut square at the neck showing a cambric habit shirt; over her right shoulder is a grey mantle which she holds up with her left hand. A jewelled headdress of goldsmiths' work with a long rose-coloured veil floating behind completes her costume.

In the red room of the Municipal Palace at Genoa is a triptych, formerly attributed to Albert Dürer, which presents the greatest affinity

to the altar-piece at Rouen. The central panel (height, 5 ft. 2 in.; breadth, 2 ft. 11 in.) is occupied by a figure of the Madonna seated on a throne beneath a canopy, the green drapery of which is thrown round the supporting columns. She wears a dark blue dress with fur-lined sleeves, confined at the waist by a girdle and over it an ample flowing mantle of the same colour bordered in gold embroidery with the anthem: "Salve (mater) misericordie: vita dulcedo et spes nostra. . . o clemens o dulcis Virgo Maria." Her long wavy hair falls in masses over her shoulders, and is kept in place by a band adorned with a jewel. Her face wears an expression of deep thought, and her eyes, lowered, are fixed on her Son, whom she supports with both hands. He is seated on her right knee, clothed in a white linen tunic open at the throat, and holds in His hands a bunch of grapes.

On the right panel is S. Jerome, represented as a man of from forty-five to fifty years of age with a dark brown beard. He is habited as a cardinal, and is standing reading from a book which he supports with his right hand, while in his left he holds a fleur de lisé cross. Behind him on the pavement reposes a lion. On the left panel is a Benedictine saint, holding in his right hand with its veil a crozier and carrying a closed book in his left. Both the cross and the crozier are splendid specimens of goldsmiths' work.

The background is formed by a dado of masonry and by hangings adorned with a variety of flowers, birds, and animals, painted with great care and truth. The tone of the picture is rather sombre.

The Imperial Picture Gallery at Vienna possesses a triptych of unknown date, the principal panel of which represents S. Michael driving Satan and his rebel host down into the jaws of hell, while the shutters are occupied by figures of saints. This picture, which was formerly in the collection of M. Adamnovitz, passed about the year 1840 into the possession of M. Artaria of Vienna, and at the sale of his collection on January 13th, 1887, was purchased for the gallery. The triptych is in its original frame.

In the central compartment, which measures 66 inches by 53, is seen the Archangel Michael who has just come down from heaven, his wings being still outspread as he drives a host of demons into an abyss surrounded by barren rocks, between which flames are shooting up. He

is clothed in a girdled white alb, shaded blue, a violet stole crossed over his breast, and a large crimson mantle lined with pale green, having orfrees embroidered with figures of saints, and fastened by a gold morse bearing a representation of the Ancient of Days between two adoring angels. His left hand is armed with a silver buckler, on which is a red cross set off from the grey ground by a white edge. In his right hand he holds a cross with a long staff with which he confounds the rebel host. The glory of the fallen angels has entirely disappeared, their wings have no longer plumes but are like those of bats and dragons, their features have become monstrous; on two tails have sprouted—hands and feet are changed into paws and hoofs, nails into claws. Lowest of all those beneath the archangel's feet is Lucifer himself, gnashing his teeth as he looks upwards at the calm majestic figure of S. Michael. In the upper part of the panel, through an opening in the clouds on the left, is seen the Almighty surrounded by an aureole of light, vested in crimson and crowned with a tiara; He bears a sceptre in His left hand, while His right is raised in the act of blessing. Three angels, clothed in white and red and armed with long crosses, are driving a host of demons into the abyss; a fourth is flying down to their aid. The lower portion and background of the panel are occupied by rocks; on the left is a pool of water in which demons are being engulfed.

The side panels measure 66 inches by 22. On the inside of each is a saint seen in three-quarters profile. On the right, S. Jerome, who is represented as a noble elderly cardinal with a brown beard just turning grey. He wears a grey cassock and a scarlet robe bordered and lined with white fur; the hat is thrown back on to his shoulders and his hands are covered with grey leather gloves; he is bending slightly and reading from an open book protected by a loose leather cover which he holds in his right hand. In his left he carries a richly ornamented cross, the base of which, resting on the top of the staff, is adorned with statuettes in canopied niches supported by slender detached pillars. Behind the saint is a lion in repose.

On the left panel is S. Anthony of Padua, clothed in the grey habit of the Friars Minor, and holding in his right hand a long wooden cross, which has for its sole ornament four knobs composed of interlaced strips of leather. With his left hand he supports an open book on which a

nude child is kneeling with hands joined, symbolising the lifting up of the saint's soul to God. The background of both panels is a continuation of that in the centre, but the barren rocks are replaced towards the outer sides by wooded mountains with a river flowing at their base. A scanty herbage embellishes the foreground.

On the exterior of the shutters are two saints, each of whom is placed in a square-headed niche. S. Sebastian, on the right, is represented as a man of about thirty-five years of age, with a short beard and curly brown hair. He wears a suit of steel armour, a neutral green mantle thrown over his left shoulder, leaving his right arm free, and a broad-brimmed beaver hat. With his left hand he holds a bow and in his right three arrows. On the opposite shutter is a female saint with a boy at her side, whose right hand she grasps as if to keep him by her, whilst with slightly bent head she reads a book supported by her right hand. She wears over a tight-fitting green dress a red robe girt with a black leather belt fastened with a golden buckle; a deep violet mantle and a white headdress complete her costume. The boy, who appears to be about five years old, wears a dark claret-coloured tunic and hose of untanned leather, and carries three nails in his left hand. These are said to represent SS. Julitta and Cyriacus, I know not on what ground, as I have never seen the latter represented as here, and can find nothing in his life to warrant such an emblem being given to him.

This triptych presents a very remarkable appearance; the composition is harmonious, and the attitudes, especially that of the archangel, whose calm expression contrasts admirably with the ugliness and rage of the demons whom he is overthrowing, are full of dignity. Great taste is shown in the arrangement of the draperies; the heads, especially those of SS. Michael, Sebastian and Julitta, are noble and beautifully formed; the hands are modelled with the greatest care and the touch is free but accurate. The colouring is warm, and the flesh tints incline a little more to brown than they do in the triptych of *The Baptism of Christ*. The water of the river in the left wing is painted in the same manner as in that picture, but we do not here see such striking contrasts in the colours of the dresses. The S. Jerome is painted from the same model as in the triptych at Genoa, but with slight variations in the pose.

These are all the paintings that can at present with certainty be



Exterior of the Shutters of the picture of "S. Michael."
S. Sebastian.



Female Saint with a Boy.

assigned to Gerard David. We know so little about him and his pupils that the greatest caution should be exercised before accepting as authentic any of the other works attributed to him. The pictures above described have without exception been assigned to other and even very different masters, not only by dealers, but by experts and connoisseurs generally recognised as competent critics. Moreover, even as regards the pictures admittedly David's there are points which need clearing up. It will have been noticed that all his earlier pictures have landscape backgrounds; that these landscapes, evidently careful studies direct from nature, have no resemblance to the flat land about Bruges, but represent well-wooded mountainous and rocky country, watered by winding streams, such scenery, in short, as is to be found in the district lying between the Rhine and the Meuse. I pointed this out so long ago as 1861 when describing the triptych of *The Baptism of Christ*, before I had discovered that David had anything to do with that picture. I then expressed the opinion that it might possibly be the work of two hands, and that the two men at the foot of the rocks in the mid-distance on the right panel might be portraits; and further on I noticed the resemblance between the landscape in this and in a picture representing the Holy Family resting on the road to Egypt in the Antwerp Museum (No. 73), and said that whoever was the painter he certainly exercised a great influence on Joachim Patenir. Later on I discovered that David went to Antwerp in 1515, was inscribed as master-painter in the register of S. Luke's gild, and that, curiously enough, the next name in the roll was that of Joachim Patenir. The latter artist stayed at Antwerp. David returned to Bruges, and from that day until his death the backgrounds of his pictures are either plain or architectural. It is therefore quite possible that Patenir may have painted the landscapes in David's earlier pictures. This surmise is strengthened by the striking similarity between the details of some of Patenir's landscapes and the backgrounds of David's pictures, as for instance in the view of a town and island in the central panel of David's *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* and in Patenir's landscape with the martyrdom of S. Katherine in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna (1093). It is also established that the principal figures in the landscapes painted by Patenir after he settled in Antwerp, 1515, are by other masters. We have moreover positive evidence that it had been the constant practice

of the early Netherlandish artists to employ specialists to paint accessories, such as stuffs, jewellery, animals, &c., and that the master-painter, who received a commission, was only bound to design the composition, and to paint with his own hand the nude portions of the figures, in which there was the most art. In David's pictures the landscape is still an accessory, though in the triptych of the Baptism at least it almost equals the figures in importance. Patenir was the first to make the landscape the dominant feature of a picture and to treat the figures as accessories. On the other hand it is just possible that David was Patenir's master, and that in his later years he had no opportunity of travelling and painting landscapes such as he admired—the artists who settled in Bruges do not seem to have ever cared for the flats of Flanders, but retained a love for the hilly country beyond the Scheldt. This was the case with the Van Eycks, the originators and founders of modern landscape painting, with Gerard of S. John's, Dirk Bouts, Roger van der Weyden, and Hans Memlinc. I cannot recall a single exception.

The confraternity of the Holy Blood at Bruges possesses a triptych¹ which according to documents preserved in its archives is a work of Gerard David. The three panels form one picture, the subject, composed of a group of ten figures, being the Deposition. In the foreground of the central panel the Body of Christ laid on a winding-sheet is supported by Nicodemus, a man with a long white beard who occupies the extreme right. In the centre, the Blessed Virgin with joined hands bends forward over the body of her Divine Son; S. John supports her with his right arm and at the same time holds up the Saviour's left arm. On the Virgin's right is Mary Salome and, at the extreme left, a man with a metal vase of perfumes. S. Mary Magdalene and Mary Cleophas occupy the right panel, the former carrying her vase of precious ointment, the cover of which she is removing with her left hand. On the left panel are three persons, the foremost of whom, S. Joseph of Arimathea, carries the crown of thorns laid on a white cloth. In the background of the central panel is seen Mount Calvary with the Cross standing between the two crucified thieves, a patibulary wheel, two soldiers, and a man carrying away a ladder; on the right wing is the city of Jerusalem and a distant landscape; on the left, a mountain and trees.

¹ Oak; H. 40 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; B. centre, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; shutters, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

The Blessed Virgin is clothed in a blue robe lined with grey squirrel fur, a large blue mantle and a white linen head kerchief. Nicodemus has a sleeveless robe of crimson and gold velvet brocade, bordered and lined with brown fur, full sleeves of shot taffeta silk, lilac and grey, and a blue kerchief wrapped round a rose-coloured turban, the top of which is adorned with gold embroidery. S. John wears a tunic and mantle of red cloth ; a pen-case and a black leather wallet are attached to his belt. Mary Salome has a green robe and a white turban-shaped headdress ; the man on the left a green mantle with a stand-up collar and a conical hat of black felt. S. Mary Magdalene is habited in a light blue close-fitting sleeveless dress bordered with fur, girdled over her hips with a rose and blue silk scarf ; her sleeves of rose-coloured cloth are slashed to show the yellow lining. An ample olive green mantle envelops the lower portion of her body. Her long hair, which falls in masses over her shoulders, is confined by a narrow circlet fastened in front with a rich jewel composed of rubies surrounded by pearls. A very elegant headdress of red velvet bordered with goldsmiths' work and covered by a transparent gauze veil knotted on the top of her head, completes her costume. Mary Cleophas wears a grey robe bordered with gold lace and pearls and lined with white fur ; her headdress is of violet silk covered with a network of gold cords and pearls ; attached to it by a rich jewel is a transparent veil which falls over her shoulders. S. Joseph of Arimathea has a robe of olive green lined and bordered with fur ; false sleeves which fall from the elbows, show under-sleeves of a superb gold and silver brocade ; the robe is fastened in front by a gold brooch and confined at the waist by a leather belt covered with gold plaques, to which is suspended a large purse. On his head is a large flat cap of red velvet lined with brown fur. The man next him, of a very pronounced Jewish type, has a forked beard, and wears a grey cloth robe lined with red with a deep turn-down collar.

The composition of this triptych is very good ; its execution firm and the colouring rich and powerful ; the types of the female figures are better than those of the men ; S. Joseph of Arimathea however has a noble head. The flesh tints are painted in a brownish tone. The picture, restored in 1675, 1773 and 1827, is fairly well preserved ; it seems to have been painted under the influence of Quentin Matsys,

and therefore probably about the time of David's sojourn in Antwerp. Its attribution to him is contested, but I do not think that the opinions of two or three modern critics warrant our rejection of the evidence in its favour. I have seen several copies of this triptych.

In the Museum of the Louvre at Paris is a painting (Oak; H. $37\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; B. 50 in. ; figures, 24 in.) representing the Marriage feast at Cana, which formerly adorned the altar of the confraternity of the Holy Blood in the upper church of S. Basil at Bruges. The feast is represented as taking place in a room separated from a public square by an open colonnade. Against the wall in the background is hung tapestry adorned with foliage, flowers and strawberries intermingled with birds and hares, with a red border on which is embroidered in gold letters : *FILI MEI DATE MANDA(tum)*. In front of this is seated the bride dressed in a full-sleeved crimson robe and mantle lined with white fur; the latter is fastened by a cord attached to two jewels. Her long hair falls in wavy masses over her shoulders. A rich gold chain passed twice round her neck, and a diadem adorned with precious stones set on a purple coif complete her costume. On the bride's left is her mother, and on her right, another woman, next to whom is the Blessed Virgin in a dark blue dress and white veil, and, at the return end of the table, our Lord in a bluish grey tunic between two maidens. At the opposite end is the chief steward of the feast with a woman at each side of him. Facing the Virgin is seated a maiden; on her right stands the bridegroom who is carving a fowl. In the foreground are six large brown stoneware water-pots, a waiter grasps the handle of one of these with his left hand, and with his right lifts up a pewter tankard. A little more to the left is a young man kneeling and holding up a silver parcel-gilt beaker, the richly-chased cover of which he has removed with his left hand. Our Lord, at the request of His Mother, who is bending forward with joined hands, raises his hand to bless the water. In the immediate foreground on the extreme right kneels the donor, John van der Straeten, wearing the costume of the provost of the confraternity, a scarlet tight-fitting tunic and a black robe lined with sable and embroidered down the front with interlacing branches of silver and drops of crimson blood ; behind him kneels his son Francis, a fair-haired little boy. At the opposite extremity is his wife,

Anne de la Bye, her hands joined in prayer; she is clad in a black velvet dress with very full sleeves lined with sable, and a white linen headdress; a silver rosary with a cross adorned with pearls hangs from her girdle. On the right, outside the chamber is a Dominican friar contemplating the scene through an opening between the columns. Through the doorway, on his left, a lad is carrying in a pasty. In the



The Marriage Feast at Cana. Louvre.

background are seen the old palace of the Liberty of Bruges, the church of S. Donatian and some of its dependent buildings, as seen from the porch of S. Basil's at the time this work was executed. The picture is painted with great body of colour; the attitude of the bride and the general arrangement of the composition is like David's work, but the sharp contrasts of brilliant colours in the dresses exceed anything in the pictures already described. A sketch for this picture submitted

to the confraternity, was approved of at a meeting of that body held on February 17th, 1519, and the contract with the painter was no doubt concluded shortly afterwards, but the picture could not have been finished until after David's death, for the donor, who is here represented as provost, was only elected to that office in May 1523, at which date David was laid up with an illness which terminated fatally on the 13th of August following.¹ There can, I think, be little doubt that the work was completed by his pupil, Adrian Isenbrant, the initial of whose Christian name is carved on the back of the stool on which the maiden facing the Blessed Virgin is seated.

Adrian is the only painter known to have been a pupil of Gerard David. He purchased the right of citizenship at Bruges in 1510. On the 29th of November in that year he was admitted as master-painter into the gild of SS. Luke and Eligius; at that date, if married, he at least had no children. He was a member of the council of his craft in 1516-17 and on several other occasions, the last being in 1547-48. He is said to have excelled in painting the nude and as a portrait-painter. Isenbrant was twice married; his first wife was Mary, daughter of Peter Grandeel; his second, Clementina, only daughter of John de Haerne. He died in July, 1551, and was buried in the churchyard of S. James at Bruges. I know of no picture that can be attributed to him with certainty. In 1539 a maidservant stole several pictures of his, one of which, the portrait of a Spaniard, was valued at £10.

Among the many early Netherlandish pictures in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna are two half-length portraits of a young man and his wife (H. $21\frac{1}{4}$ in.; B. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.; Heads, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $5\frac{1}{8}$ in.) attributed to Mark Gerard; these were formerly at Brussels in the possession of the Archduke Leopold William of Austria. In the inventory of his collection drawn up in 1659, and published in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, they are entered as original works of Gerard of Bruges; they are certainly not later than 1520, and though I have not seen them for the last thirty years, I have little doubt that they are by Gerard David.

In all probability many more of his pictures have escaped destruction.

¹ See *Le Beffroi*, tom. iii, pp. 344, 345. Bruges, 1870. There is a copy of this picture in the Museum at Stockholm.

We know that he painted for Bernardin Salviati a panel (H. $40\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; B. $36\frac{3}{4}$ in.) with the portrait of his mother kneeling, protected by three saints (John the Baptist, Christina and Mary Magdalene ?) ; and another (H. 25 in. ; B. 19 in.) for the Carmelite nuns of Sion at Bruges representing their father confessor, Brother Isenbart de Bru, kneeling, accompanied by S. Albert and S. Elisabeth. This panel, painted in 1518, is described in the catalogue of pictures from the suppressed convents, sold in 1785 as highly finished ; it was nevertheless sold to a dealer named Loose for tenpence. I know not what has become of these two works.

The Hohenzollern collection at Sigmaringen contains two shutters of a triptych (H. $30\frac{1}{2}$ in. ; B. $25\frac{3}{4}$ in.), formerly in the Weyer collection, representing the Annunciation ; the angel on the right panel, the Virgin on the left. The scene is laid in a wainscotted room. Mary, in a greenish-blue dress and mantle, kneels, her hands crossed on her breast, at a carved prayer-desk, on which is an open book ; its cover and a rosary lie on the pavement ; to the right is the emblematic lily in a fine two-handled majolica vase, and in the background, a bedstead with lilac curtains. On the other panel Gabriel, in girded alb and cope of crimson and gold brocade, lined with shot silk, advances with a sceptre in his left hand, and with his right uplifted as he delivers his message. This is a very fine painting, highly finished ; the style of the figures and the colouring are quite in the manner of Gerard's later works. A replica with variations in the colouring and the accessories (H. 16 in. B. $12\frac{1}{2}$ in.) is in the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

A panel (H. 31 in. ; B. $23\frac{1}{4}$ in.), in the possession of Count Arco Valley, at Munich, representing the Madonna seated in a landscape surrounded by five virgin saints (SS. Katherine and Barbara on her right ; SS. Dorothy, Margaret and Agnes on the left), is attributed to Gerard ; as are also a replica of it (without the angels holding a crown over the B. Virgin) belonging to the Academy of S. Luke at Rome, and a similar composition, with a sixth saint added on the right opposite S. Margaret, in the Alte Pinacothek at Munich. These are all early sixteenth century imitations of the right half of a lovely diptych (H. 10 in. ; B. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.), painted by Memlinc for John du Celier, formerly in the possession of Mr. Gatteaux, now in the Louvre. Amongst other works by the same

hand we may mention a triptych in the cathedral of Bruges, representing the Presentation in the Temple, with the donors protected by SS. Philip and John the Evangelist ; and in the Alte Pinacothek at Munich a *Repose during the Flight into Egypt* and an *Adoration of the Magi*.

In the Gallery at Darmstadt is a painting on panel (H. $35\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; B. $14\frac{1}{2}$ in.), formerly in the collection of the Duke of Orleans, representing the Madonna enthroned between two groups of angels, four on the right, singing, and three on the left, one playing the harp, another the organ, of which the bellows are blown by the third. This picture, of which there was a replica in the convent of the English Franciscan nuns at Bruges (afterwards in the Van Houtten collection at Aachen), is the work of a contemporary of David, but the types of the figures, with the exception of the two musical angels, are unlike those in his authentic pictures.

The Berlin Gallery exhibits as being by David, a picture (573) formerly in the Solly collection, representing our Lord on the Cross with the B. Virgin, S. John and the three Maries on the right, and the Centurion and two soldiers on the left. It should most certainly be classed as by an unknown master. It is needless to refer here to the many other (more than forty) pictures in private hands which have been attributed to David of late years, generally with very little reason.

CHAPTER III

MINIATURES.

GERARD DAVID was not only a painter but also a miniaturist, and as such at the head of one of the best, if not the best, school of miniature painters flourishing at Bruges at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Of his own work as a miniaturist we have two authenticated specimens, the *Preaching of John the Baptist* and the *Baptism of Christ*, formerly in the Abbey of S. Mary of the Dunes,¹ and now in the Museum of the Academy at Bruges. In the first the Precursor is represented standing on a hillock, holding a staff in his right hand and raising his left to emphasise the exhortation he is addressing to a group of persons seated around. A little in the background Christ is seen walking towards a wood in the distance. In the second miniature, S. John, kneeling on one knee on the rocky bank of the river, is pouring water from the hollow of his hand on the head of Christ who stands in the stream. In the heavens the Eternal Father is seen blessing His Son. Deer are browsing beneath the trees, and swans are on the stream.

Of David's wife's work we have three splendid examples, also formerly in the abbey of the Dunes and now in the possession of Mr. Henry Willett, of Arnold House, Brighton, which when I first saw them nearly forty years ago were in a sixteenth-century frame protected by talc.¹ In the central picture the Blessed Virgin, seen full face and as far as the knees, is seated in the immediate front on a bank overgrown with herbage and flowers. She wears a bright deep blue dress with loose sleeves lined with grey fur, showing at the wrists the tight sleeves of a brown underdress lined with green, and a little linen; a large red

¹ They were then at Bruges in the possession of M. Louis Tangnes, and were attributed to Hans Memlinc. At his sale on May 31st, 1870, they fetched 960 frs.

mantle, thrown over her shoulders falls in graceful folds on each side. Her light brown hair, confined by a band of black velvet, embroidered with gold and bordered with pearls, falls in wavy tresses over her shoulders, but is partly covered by a white neckerchief. With her right arm and hand she supports the Infant Christ seated on her lap with a linen cloth wrapped about Him. His left arm rests on His Mother's shoulder, while he clutches her neckerchief with his right hand. He has a glory of rays around His head, but the Virgin's is encircled with a semi-transparent nimbus of brush-gold. Both Mother and Child are of quite a different type to those in Gerard's pictures, and I do not remember to have met with them in any Bruges painting, so that this may very probably be an original composition of his wife's. To the left of the Virgin is seen a pond at which a stag is slaking its thirst in the shade of a couple of trees; a little further off is a peacock, perched on a trellis fence. The centre of the background is occupied by a gabled mansion which shuts off the greater portion of the distant view, but on the right beyond a wall and gateway, we get a glimpse of upland landscape with a cottage at the side of a winding road leading up to a castle on the summit. In the courtyard on the right of the mansion is a richly carved stone Gothic fountain with four bronze statuettes, in front of which is an angel, another stands on the doorsteps. The buildings in this view represent, but freely, the old castle and country house of Louis de Gruuthuise, Earl of Winchester, at Oostcamp near Bruges.

The right wing is occupied by a nearly full-length figure of S. Katherine standing in the immediate foreground of a meadow. She wears a loose-sleeved dress of cloth of gold lined with blue, adorned at the edges and down the front with precious stones between two rows of pearls. Cut square at the neck it shows the border of a crimson bodice, and a plaited cambric habit-shirt edged with a narrow band of gold, coming up to the throat. A light blue mantle lined with crimson cast over her shoulders, is kept in its place by a gold cordon fastened to two jewelled buttons. With her right arm pressed against her side she holds up the end of her mantle and the skirt of her dress, while her hand rests on the pommel of a sword, in the other hand she carries a book covered with red cloth on which her eyes are fixed. Her long light brown hair falls loosely over



The Blessed Virgin and Infant Christ.
Miniature from Triptych, by the wife of Gerard David. Mr. Henry Willett's Collection.

her shoulders and is kept off her face by a rich gold headdress with a coronet set with precious stones. A wheel-shaped jewel is attached to a cord round her neck, while the wheel of torture lies at her feet. In the background are trees and a palatial castle in front of which the martyrdom of the saint is taking place in the presence of a king and nobleman on horseback with an attendant page and a couple of soldiers; the saint, blindfolded is kneeling on her mantle, and the executioner is raising his sword to strike the fatal blow; two angels hold the mantle and are waiting to transport her body to Mount Sinai. On one of the chimney tops of the palace are two storks. On the left wing S. Barbara stands facing S. Katherine. She is clothed in a full-sleeved blue dress open in front to the waist but laced with a gold cord across the bodice of a crimson underdress cut square at the neck showing a white linen neckerchief. An ample white mantle shaded with red and bordered with gold embroidery, and a rich coronet of gold set with precious stones and pearls, and adorned in front with a little tower complete her costume. Her long brown hair falls in masses over her shoulders. In her right hand she carries a small round tower of metal, and with her left holds up her mantle. The meadow in which she stands is shut in by a hurdle fence and two trees, a willow and a tall poplar. Beyond is a hilly landscape with rocks on the left. In the further background are sheep and two shepherds, one of whom is pointing to the rocks, down the road at the foot of which the saint is being dragged by the hair by her cruel father, who in the mid-distance is again represented in the act of beheading her.

At the foot of each of these miniatures there is an ornamental band; that below S. Katherine, coloured crimson, is occupied by two kneeling angels, vested in albs, supporting an escutcheon with the arms of the abbot for whom it was painted; the other is adorned with a red rose, a pansy, a caterpillar, and a fly on a ground of brush gold.

The heads in all three miniatures are very beautiful, and the hands well modelled. The figures of SS. Katherine and Barbara, which occur again and again in Breviaries, Hours, and other devotional books, are copied from Gerard David's paintings.

Besides the above, there are a large number of very fine illuminated manuscripts, executed in Bruges, some of the miniatures in which are copied from Gerard's designs. He was for more than a quarter of a

century the leading artist at Bruges, but inasmuch as the majority of the miniaturists worked not from nature but from patterns, it is extremely difficult, in the absence of documentary evidence, to say for certain by whom any particular work was executed.

It is commonly supposed that many of the fine manuscripts executed at this period were written in Italy and Spain, and sent to the Netherlands to be adorned by the illuminator and miniaturist. This is quite contrary to fact. The fine vellum of which these books are composed was a Netherlandish specialty, and so far at least as Bruges is concerned, there were residing in the town French, North Italian, and Spanish professional calligraphers who were constantly engaged in writing Missals, Breviaries, and Books of Hours for exportation. There were also a large number of illuminators whose business it was to paint the initial letters and ornamental borders. There were also the miniaturists, a few of whom were master-painters. It may be as well if I add here a list of such of these as were working in Bruges in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

1. Didier de la Riviere, a native of Langres in the duchy of Burgundy, who settled in Bruges and purchased the right of citizenship on November 8th, 1475. He was admitted as an illuminator into the gild of S. John in 1476, and as master-painter into that of SS. Luke and Eligius on September 15th, 1506. He died in 1509.¹

2. Adrian de Raet, *alias* Vrelant, a pupil of the well-known miniaturist William Vrelant, admitted into the gild of S. John in 1475, and as master-painter into that of S. Luke on August 11th, 1511. He died in 1534.²

3. Adrian Fabiaen, son of the painter John Fabiaen, admitted as master-painter on July 17th, 1519, and into the gild of S. John as miniaturist in 1536, died in December, 1545. His wife joined the gild as illuminator in 1533.²

4. William Wallinc, son of the painter Michael Wallinc, admitted as master-painter on October 28th, 1506, and into the gild of S. John as miniaturist in 1527; he died in March, 1553.³

¹ See *Le Beffroi*, II, 301.

² He had a brother, Donatien, who was admitted as master-painter on January 30th, 1510, and died in 1521. Their father died in 1520. ³ See *Le Beffroi*, III, 231-235.



Wings of Triptych, by the wife of Gerard David. Mr. Willett's Collection.
S. Katherine. S. Barbara.

5. Fabian de Maniere, admitted as master-painter on August 23rd, 1500, and into the gild of S. John as miniaturist in 1519. He died in 1556.

6. Simon Bynnynek, or Benninc, son of Alexander and Katherine van der Goes, born at Antwerp, illuminator and miniaturist, visited Bruges from time to time in 1508, 1512, and 1516; he settled there definitely in 1518 and purchased the right of citizenship in 1519. Francis of Holland (quoted by Raczyński, *Les Arts en Portugal*, p. 55) writing about miniaturists, speaks of him thus: "Master Simon was of all the Flemings the most graceful colourist, and painted trees and distances better than any other." Guicciardini and Vasari also mention him among the miniaturists of the first half of the sixteenth century. He died in 1561.¹ His only authenticated works are a miniature of the *Crucifixion* (H. 12 in., B. 7½ in.) in a Missal in the Archives at Dixmude, painted by him in 1530, and the *Genealogy of the Royal House of Portugal*, eleven sheets of which are preserved in the British Museum (Add. MS. 12531), commenced in 1530 by order of the Infante Don Fernando; these remained unfinished at the death of that prince in 1534.

These are the authors of the best miniatures produced in Bruges from 1500 to 1530; but as no authenticated work of any of them, except David and his wife and Simon Benninc, has yet been identified, we must be content to wait until further documents are unearthed.

One of the finest and best known books adorned with miniatures, produced in Bruges during this period, is the so-called *Grimani Breviary* now at Venice, which was executed for a regular canon, as is proved by the inscription in the calendar of the feasts of S. Guarinus, S. Bernard, and S. Ubaldu, on February 6th and May 15th and 16th; for although the first of these feasts was kept throughout the diocese of Bologna, the second in several dioceses of the north of Italy, and the third throughout Umbria, the regular canons alone kept all the three.² The presence of a number of Franciscan saints tend to make one think that the particular canon for whom the book was executed was affiliated to the Order of S. Francis as a Tertiary. As to its date, I am very

¹ See Le Beffroi, II, 306-319, and III, 118-119.

² The feast of S. Isidore, martyr, is here on April 16th, on which day it was kept, I believe, only in the diocese of Venice.

strongly inclined to put it at the commencement of the sixteenth century, or, at earliest, quite at the close of the fifteenth : SS. Bernard, Peter, and companions (March 19th) were canonised on August 6th, 1481 ; the feast of S. Joseph (March 19th) was raised to the rank of a minor double in 1490, and then for the Franciscans only, so that the writing of the book cannot have been commenced until after that date. How soon after it was commenced is a matter of opinion, but, as far as I can judge from careful comparison of the photographs with other miniatures and with paintings, I am convinced that these cannot have been executed much before 1510. A few of the volumes illustrated by the same miniaturists have retained their original stamped covers, and these are all the work of sixteenth century Bruges binders.

The *Grimani Breviary* consists of 831 leaves of fine vellum. The calendar takes up twenty-four pages. Twelve of these have full-page miniatures, the other twelve being occupied by the calendar in two columns enclosed within an architecturesque framework of bronze adorned with single figures of the saints, or with groups representing the mysteries commemorated during the month ; at the head are the signs of the zodiac, and at the foot, a scene illustrating the occupations and amusements of the season. The full-page miniatures present scenes of a similar character. These are remarkably fine, but it must not be supposed that they are original compositions, for such is not the case. The choice of the subjects which illustrate the different months is coeval with the introduction of pictorial calendars. The compositions date at least from the commencement of the fifteenth century ; if for instance the December miniature be compared with that in the *Hours of John, Duke of Berry*, belonging to the Duke of Aumale (reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, tom. xxix, p. 401, 1884), it will be seen that not only is the general arrangement identical, but that the grouping of both the huntsmen and the dogs is the same, as are also the various species and colours of the latter ; the costumes vary, and the architecture in the background is Netherlandish of the fifteenth instead of French of the fourteenth ; the trees in the wood too are not growing so close together, space having been made for additional members of the hunting party and for two dogs. The representation, at the head of each miniature, of the Almighty as the Ancient of Days (Daniel vii, 9, and Psalm xviii, 6),

holding an orb and with his right hand raised in the act of blessing, seated in a canopied chariot drawn by two winged horses, is also no new



SS. Katherine, Cecilio, Barbara, and other Virgin Saints. Grimani Breviary.

feature. The artists who executed the miniatures in the *Duke of Berry's Hours* are known; Pol de Limbourg and his brothers, Netherlanders,

who may very likely have been recommended to the duke by his friend Lubert Hautschilt, twenty-fourth abbot of S. Bartholomew's, better known as the Eeckhout, at Bruges, a house of canons regular of the order of S. Augustin founded in the first half of the eleventh century in a forest of oak trees—whence its common name—then just outside the town. Hautschilt was a learned mathematician and astronomer; in 1398 he constructed a zodiac with figures of the planets adapted to a globe, the whole kept in motion by clockwork. At the request of Cardinal Peter d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, he revised the memoir on the reform of the calendar dedicated by that prelate to John XXIII in 1411. He also rebuilt a great part of his abbey, and enriched its library with numerous manuscripts. The duke made him a member of his council, and kept up a constant correspondence with him, often presenting him with ecclesiastical vessels and vestments; the abbot on the other hand sending the duke rare birds, vases and manuscripts; he also dedicated to him a translation of William de Guilleville's *Roman des trois Pèlerinages*, and had the presentation copy adorned with beautiful miniatures.¹ It was in the abbey of the Eeckhout that the gild of S. John had its chapel and held its meetings, and thus we have a connecting link between the miniatures in the two calendars; the original patterns, or copies of them, no doubt remained at Bruges.

The text of the Breviary is adorned with sixty-eight large and eighteen small miniatures; of the former fifteen occupy the entire page the remainder have borders at the sides and foot; twenty-four of these are made up of little pictures; twenty-five are adorned with cut flower sprays, butterflies and insects, painted with the greatest care; the other four are divided into compartments containing jewellery either enamelled or set with precious stones. The pages on which the smaller miniatures occur also have similar borders.

Many of these miniatures contain figures copied from paintings by David or other masters; thus the group of *Our Lady surrounded by five Virgin Saints* (91) is a free copy of a picture now in the Academy of S. Luke at Rome; the landscape background is, however, far finer than in that picture or in either of the replicas at Munich. The *S. Barbara* (108) is copied from the same painting. The *Holy Trinity* (42) is so

¹ See my notice of this abbot in *La Flandre*, tome III, pp. 281-286. Bruges, 1869.



S. Anthony. Grimani Breviary.

far as the figures are concerned an exact copy of a painting which thirty years ago was at Bruges in private hands. The figures of the Apostles assisting at the death of the B. Virgin (87) were certainly inspired by a beautiful little picture in the National Gallery (N^o 658), formerly attributed to Martin Schongauer. The smaller miniatures in the borders are in more than one instance (*e.g.*, the interment scene at the foot of 58) repetitions of similar compositions in a prayer-book executed *c.* 1460 for Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, now in the Bodleian (Douce 219,220).

We reproduce here seven miniatures, which are either original works of Gerard's, or copies from his designs.

1. *A Group of Virgin Saints*; the identity of the three foremost only is fixed by characteristic emblems. S. Cecilia, in the centre, holds a pair of silver organs in her right hand, and wears a blue dress bordered round the neck with a bright red galloon, embroidered with gold letters. Her hair, which falls over her shoulders, is confined by a band of green velvet, adorned with a single row of pearls, and fastened over the forehead with a jewel. On her right, S. Katherine, her right hand resting on the pommel of a sword, is reading a book supported on her left forearm. Her robe of cloth of gold has full sleeves lined with white and yellow shot silk, and is bordered with a double row of pearls; over it she wears a light blue mantle, kept in place by a cordon attached to two jewelled buttons. Her throat is protected by a white chemisette. A blue headdress, on which is set a richly-jewelled coronet, and a girdle with a jewelled fastening complete her costume. On the left, S. Barbara, in a light-green dress, open in front, and laced across the chest over a bodice of cloth of gold, has a rose-coloured mantle bordered with gold-embroidered letters, and carries a little gold cylindrical tower. Her hair is confined by a richly-jewelled coronet. Of the other virgins little more than their heads is seen; all have nimbs of semi-transparent brush gold. The background is of pure gold. The border, iron grey, is adorned with cut roses and butterflies.

2. *S. Anthony*, clad in a monastic habit and rose-coloured skull-cap, is represented walking at the side of a wood. In his left hand he carries a book, whilst his right rests on a staff to which a bell is attached; in front of him is a pig. Devils are flying away through the air. In the



S. John the Baptist. Grimani Breviary.

mid-distance is a river with islands, and beyond it a town. The border, in brown heightened with gold, presents three scenes from the life of the saint. At the foot, on the right, he is seen seated reading, undisturbed by the wild beasts gathered around him; on the left, he is tempted by two women, one of whom, richly dressed, is offering him a golden goblet. Higher up he is represented conversing with S. Paul the hermit.

3. *S. John Baptist*, represented in a wooded landscape advancing towards the front along the grassy bank of a river; on his right are three disciples, two of whom are leaving him to follow Christ, who is seen in the half distance walking away, his hands joined in prayer. The Baptist is clothed in a garment of camel skin and a red mantle. The disciple nearest to him has a red tunic, a blue cape, and an olive green mantle; his companion, a yellow tunic; the third a grey tunic and brown head cover. Our Lord is clothed in a blue tunic. On the border two scenes are represented; at the foot, on the right, S. John, kneeling on one knee, is baptising Christ, who stands in the stream; on the left he is preaching to a crowd from a wooden pulpit set up at the foot of tall trees.

4. *S. Mary Magdalene*.—The saint is represented seated at the foot of a steep rock, on the summit of which are a few trees and bushes. Her hands rest on a book which lies open on her knees. Her only garment is an ample rose-coloured mantle, over which her long hair falls loosely. At her side, on the ground, is her emblem, the vase of precious ointment. Above her is the entrance to a grotto; a stream gushing from the rocks on the extreme right, flows across the foreground and winds its way towards the sea in the distance. High up in the air six angels are seen bearing the saint's soul to heaven. At the edge of a wood, on the further side of the stream, is a monk looking up in wonder. The landscape is enlivened by the introduction of several animals. Out at sea is seen a ship.

5. *S. Christopher*, represented as a man of gigantic stature, standing in a river holding a pole in his right hand, and with his left arm trying to lift the Infant Christ, who stands on the rocky bank with his arm round the saint's neck. Christopher has a blue tunic and a rose-coloured mantle picked out with gold; the Child, a light blue tunic. The rocks and shrubs in the background on the left are painted with great skill and



S. Mary Magdalene. Grimani Breviary.

fidelity to nature, as is also the river on which are several ships ; beyond it are buildings. The border of brush gold is divided by entwined stems into oval compartments, tinted alternately green, pink, and blue, in each of which is suspended a jewel.

6. *S. Michael*, a half-length figure with outstretched wings, seen full face ; he is clad in girdled alb, amice, scarlet stole embroidered with letters of gold, and a cope of crimson and gold velvet brocade, lined with green silk and bordered with orfreys embroidered with figures of saints in canopied niches between two rows of pearls ; the morse of gold adorned with pearls bears a sculptured representation of the Eternal Father seated on a throne. The archangel holds an uplifted sword, and in his left hand bears a crystal staff surmounted by a jewelled cross of gold, from which floats a banner with a figure of *S. Michael* about to smite Satan, on whose prostrate form he is standing. In the background are legions of angels. The border is adorned with strawberry blossoms and fruit and butterflies, on a yellow ground heightened with gold.

7. *S. Francis of Assisi*, clothed in an olive green habit, girt with a knotted cord, is kneeling in the foreground in devout ecstasy before the mystic seraph and receiving the stigmata, the rays passing to the saint's hands and feet and side being like golden threads of light ; a little further off is Brother Leo, who has fallen asleep while sitting at the foot of a rock, from which a small stream bursts out in the immediate front. In the background are a couple of trees and a landscape view partly shut out by rocks. The border is adorned with cut flowers, damask roses and sweet peas, with butterflies on a light red ground.

I would also draw the reader's special attention to the three following :—

8. *The Visitation*.—The scene is represented as taking place in an enclosed garden. Mary, in blue dress and mantle, with a white linen veil, has just entered by a gateway on the right. *S. Elisabeth*, who has come out to meet her, is greeting her, while the aged Zachary, cap and staff in hand, stands a little way off to the left. *Elisabeth* wears a robe of crimson heightened with gold, bordered with white fur, over a tight-fitting dress of cloth of gold. A linen headdress with a peach-coloured veil and a golden girdle complete her costume. Zachary wears a blue



S. Christopher. Grimani Breviary.



S. Michael. Grimani Breviary.

tunic girt with a leathern belt. In the background is a mansion, and beyond it a hill with a castle, the same view as in the central piece of Mr. Willett's triptych.

9. *S. Jerome*, represented seated at the foot of a clump of trees reading a book, which lies open on his knees. He is dressed as a cardinal in a crimson cappa lined with sheepskin, and a violet skull-cap; a lion reposes at his side, and a cardinal's hat and a skull lie on the ground before him. In the background are trees, a cottage, and a church at the foot of a steep rock. The border is adorned with white roses, butterflies, a caterpillar, and a snail on a pink ground.

10. *Our Lady and Child*.—This is one of the most exquisite figures in the whole book. The Virgin, seen to the knees, is seated facing the spectator, supporting with both her hands her divine Son, who, with his arms around her neck, is apparently about to give her a loving kiss. Mary wears, over a tight-fitting dress of cloth of gold, a blue robe lined with grey plush, and a red mantle bordered with gold embroidery. Her hair, which falls in luxuriant masses over her shoulders, is confined by a red riband embroidered with gold and bordered with pearls, fastened over the forehead by a jewel set with precious stones. The Child is clothed in a simple white tunic. The meadow in which the Virgin is seated is thickly grown with herbage and white flowers. In the half-distance on each side are trees; at the foot of these on the left shepherds are keeping watch over their sheep. Beyond the meadow is a winding road on which is an ass followed by a peasant; a wooded landscape occupies the background.

In all these miniatures the Divine Persons, the Blessed Virgin, and the angels have rays of gold around their heads, while the saints have semi-transparent nimbs of brush gold.

The National Bavarian Museum at Munich possesses two *Books of Hours*, adorned by miniaturists of the same school; one, contemporary with if not a little earlier than the *Grimani Breviary*, belonged to Joan of Castile, the queen of Philip the Handsome, who married her in 1496; the other is rather later.

Among the many fine manuscripts in the Imperial Library at Vienna are two prayer-books, a *Hortulus animae* (2706) and a *Book of Hours* (1588), bound by Louis Bloc of Bruges, both of which contain minia-



S. Francis of Assisi. Grimani Breviary.

tures exactly like those in the *Grimani Breviary*. Another very fine *Book of Hours*, dating from about 1515, which passed into the possession of Albert of Brandenburg and is now in private possession, contains 123 miniatures by the same artists, many of them exact repetitions of those in the Breviary, while the portrait of St. Bernardin of Siena is identical with that in the wing of the *Salviati* altar-piece.¹

A very fine Breviary written for Isabella, daughter of the Infante Ferdinand, Duke of Viséu, and wife of John II., King of Portugal, who was a member of the third order of S. Francis. This book, which passed at the end of the sixteenth century into the possession of the Archbishop of Braga, contains over sixty large miniatures and a number of borders by the same hands. It is now in private possession.

I should also mention here an exquisite little miniature representing the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles, formerly in the collection of M. Guillon of Roermond, and now in that of Mr. Alfred de Pass at Finchley.

A beautiful little *Book of Hours*, executed c. 1530 for the Abbey of Messines in West Flanders, now in the British Museum, bound by Louis Bloc of Bruges, and a prayer-book written by Anthony van Damme, calligrapher of Bruges, in 1531, in private possession, contain miniatures evidently copied from the same patterns but by other hands.

¹ The Library at Cassel contains copies of many of these miniatures of somewhat later date and inferior execution, bearing a cipher HB, assumed by some writers to be that of Gerard Horenbault of Ghent!!

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